

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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INGLORIOUS END OF NON-PARTISANISM

An Attempt to Defile the Standard of
Socialism by Trailing it in Mire
of Capitalist Politics—Will
Influence No Social
Democrat

JONES SUPPORTS BRYANISM

These Who Are Not for Socialism this Year
Are Against It—A Socialist Who Votes
for Competition is a Traitor

By Seymour Stedman

The attitude of Mayor Samuel M. Jones of Toledo in supporting William J. Bryan is not a surprise to those who were familiar with his economic views. His course is a lesson to all, that when the clash between economic freedom and industrial serfdom wrestle for the possession of the future, those men who are so sincere and whose hearts are so big and warm, will often try to lay our standard at the feet of the enemy. Had Jones understood the philosophy of Socialism, the class struggle, he never could have made such a terrific blunder. His hope to bring Socialism through the Democratic party is about as sound as the judgment of a man who with equal logic and more discretion might have joined the Jesse James gang in the hope of doing away with robbery, or of a Hindoo joining the Catholic Church in the hope of introducing his theology into the halls of the Vatican! Lincoln was a most superb fool; he should have had Jones to advise him, and then the Union soldiers would have gone forth and joined the Confederate army in the hope of destroying slavery.

After reading the letter of Mr. Jones and stripping it of the poetry and song, we find practically two points made: a protest against imperialism and the juggling of the Philippines. This is one reason why Mr. Jones is going to support Mr. Bryan. We wonder if Mr. Jones has forgotten the fact that Bryan went to Washington and urged upon the Democratic senators the ratification of the Paris treaty and the buying of the Philippine islands. Bryan used his influence to buy these foreign islands for \$20,000,000, then he opposes imperialism and Jones comes forth with cheers for Mr. Bryan, the "non-partisan leader!" Mr. Jones is supporting Bryan because he wishes every man to have equal rights, etc., and to prove that Mr. Jones knows exactly what he wants, he is going to support a party which has done more to disfranchise the voters in states where it has absolute control than any other party or government in the world. The Czar is at least going forward to some extent. When the Democratic party disfranchises the voters it is surely going backwards and against this outrage, which is subversive of the liberty not of the Philippines, but of people at home, the Democratic party and Bryan enter no protest.

In Charlotte, South Carolina, children thirteen years old work in the cotton factories from 6 o'clock in the evening to 6 in the morning, twelve long hours in a factory in a Democratic state, which sent a solid delegation to a Democratic national convention, and which national convention never said one word against child labor, or in favor of factory legislation; and in Democratic New York city in one day thirty-seven babies were taken from the tenement district to the morgue, and now the leader of this party, with Mr. Jones, will stand upon these wretched infant forms and shed tears over Philipinos thousands of miles away. It is always so easy to weep and deplore the sorrows that are not standing at our door. Mr. Jones objects to "Gatling guns" and standing armies. At Hazleton, bullets whistled through the hearts of children and their blood moistened the highway; in Idaho martial law was declared. Men were shot and women outraged under a Democratic governor, and in all the thousands of words in the Democratic platform, not one is said about the conditions in this state, where men were required to obtain permission before they could work; but Mr. Jones' mind is resting in the Philippines.

This may be regarded as too severe, but I respect the motives of Mr. Jones, satisfied that he has a warm heart and therein lies his power for injury. Uncle George was a good slave owner; he had a warm heart. With him Uncle Tom was on "Easy street." Simon Legree

INSIDIOUS AND AUDACIOUS CLAIMS OF THE BRYAN DEMOCRACY

WHAT is erroneously and insidiously called Socialism in the Populist and Democratic parties, is a popular determination to do away with the inequitable and oppressive industrial advantage held by corporate combinations of capital.

If favoring municipal ownership of the so-called natural monopolies is to be called Socialistic, then Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, notably, and the leading men of all England must be called Socialists, and the great municipalities of England are Socialistic. And so if a considerable demand for state ownership of railways in this country is Socialistic, then the governments of the principal countries of continental Europe have long been Socialistic. If the Democratic demand for a graded income tax makes Socialists of Democrats, then Mr. Gladstone and Beaconsfield were, and Salisbury is Socialistic.

Whatever may be said of Mr. Bryan's audacious opportunism, of the facility with which he catches political sentiment of the hour and turns it to his own account, yet he undoubtedly retains the traditional or instinctive spirit of individualism inherited from a Democratic ancestry; and this quality still inheres in the Democratic party in the main.

The great body of Mr. Bryan's supporters have no thought of instituting or advancing Socialism. On the contrary, they are in a campaign for overcoming obstacles to competition and individualism in all the ordinary industrial pursuits.

—Albert Watkins in The Arena.

had no heart; he looked at Uncle Tom and broke his bones, and killed him, but this brutal monster and his act did more to free the negro than the warm-hearted "Master George."

When the Christians entered Rome and threatened the destruction of the economic conditions that supported her imperial power, the Emperor became alarmed. Imagine a warm-hearted man, sincere and foolish, saying to the converts, behold Nero hates war, loves poetry, he writes day by day, he thinks he is a re-born Homer and loves music; he fiddles hour by hour, we want an industrial system where all can fiddle, where all can write. Nero is coming our way, and at "a step at a time," and he yells three cheers for Nero, poetry and fiddling. That man unconsciously would be doing as much to light the skies of Rome with the burning bodies of converts as the Pretorian with his flame.

Mr. Jones seems to believe that opposition to the Philippine war will be a step towards ending all wars. It is strange that he cannot understand that the carrying-on of war is born of internal conditions which make it necessary. The brutality of militarism and imperialism did not commence at the Philippines. It commenced the day the laboring people were unable to buy the product and consume the wealth which they have created. Expansion is logical from the capitalist system and if necessary to carry it out, all required force will be used. You can never treat foreigners kindly, whether Philipinos or Cubans, nor justly until you treat those at home the same way. Liberate and free the American laborer and he will never subjugate or take the freedom from any other people, but join the master classes, the employers, capitalists and those who hold the means of production and distribution and they will subjugate the workers at home and the slaves abroad, and I pay no compliment to the intellect of Jones by questioning his understanding of this proposition. It may be well here to call attention to another proposition of Mr. Jones, who hopes for the time when "the daily warfare of the competitive strife" will be no more and the party he supports and Mr. Bryan stands upon a platform which is against "private monopoly" of all kinds because "they destroy competition" (Democratic platform), in other words, the platform of the Democratic party believes and declares in favor of competition, and Jones says he is opposed to competitive warfare.

It may be opportune to ask how long it will take to bring the co-operative commonwealth by supporting a party which declares in favor of competition and that "corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected" (Democratic platform). The interest of the corporations is to secure more profits; in other words, a greater share of that which labor produces. Mr. Jones, who professes to believe in the co-operative commonwealth, is found in the position of supporting exactly the opposite from what he says he believes in. The motive of Mr. Jones I should have no right to touch upon ordinarily, but when he opens his letter or declaration casting a light upon his intentions, I have a right to question them. The reason Jones is not supporting "the great souls who have a clear vision of the perfect social state" (Jones' letter), is because those who carry that "ideal" and bear this standard are surrounded by "the man with the hoe," and the sans-culotte, and is lacking in respectability, and because there is no hope of the immediate triumphant success of those who hold aloft the great ideal. The hour has come when men of moral courage will declare themselves for Socialism or against it and take their stand as they yearn toward the future or the past. This is no time to skulk nor to join the enemy and still proclaim a friendship and loyalty to the principles deserted and those who stand for them.

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THE OLD PARTIES AND THE TRUSTS

The Owners of Both Parties are the
Owners of the Trusts—Satisfied
with Things as They Are, Bryan,
if Elected, Could Not Dis-
turb Their Interests

BRYAN'S PROGRAM IS ABSURD

Push the Evolution to its Logical Termination, Social Ownership of the Means
of Production and Distribution

By Rev. Chas. H. Vail

Industry has passed through several stages of development. The difference between the several stages is not one of principle, but solely one of size and complexity of industrial organization.

At first the hand laborer worked alone and organized industry on a very simple basis and a very small scale. This was the handicraft stage—the period of small industry. In the latter part of this era the master workman had several journeymen and apprentices.

Then came the manufacturing stage, in which the master workman extended the field of his operations. The small shop was transformed into the manufactory and the workers increased in like proportions. It was here that the capitalist appeared, and consequently the beginning of capitalist production. The capitalist organized industry on a more extended scale and complex basis—employing more men and dividing and specializing their labor.

Next came the factory stage—the period of modern industry. In the beginning of this era the tools of production were owned by the individual capitalist, but machinery soon became so gigantic that it became almost, if not quite, impossible for the individual capitalist to furnish the necessary means to operate the improved methods, so the joint-stock company or corporation arose. By this association or concentration of capital industry was organized on a more complex and extended basis.

As individual capitalists unite and form a corporation, so corporations unite and form a combination or trust. This greater concentration of capital makes possible a more minute differentiation of labor and a higher industrial organization. As the corporation represents a greater aggregation and centralization of capital than the individual capitalist, so the trust represents a greater aggregation and centralization than the corporation. In each change the new form came because it was necessary. The trust, like the corporation, arose because the new method was necessary to secure the best economic results.

In this industrial evolution each stage has come and remained because it was more efficient than its predecessor—each new method lessened the cost of production else it could not have sustained itself in competition with the old method. It must be evident that the centralization of capital is necessary to the utilization of the best methods in modern industry. The business of the future must be done by organized capital; it is the only way the needs of the people can be met. Capital is the most effective in producing wealth when most concentrated. The modern factory, the great steamship lines, the railway system, the telegraph and telephone plants, could not have come into existence without the aggregation of large capitals. The whole history of industrial evolution has been one of concentration of capital into larger and larger establishments. If the railroad supplanted the stage coach, and the large factory and farm the small one, it must have

been because they served the community better and cheaper. To return to the old methods would be reactionary. If the people do not receive the full benefit of these improved methods there is a remedy, but to destroy the methods would be absurd. The trust represents the most effective tool in production. To cry out against this tool is to evidence ignorance of the whole economic process. The trouble is not with the tool but with the method of ownership and control. The solution of the problem is not along the line of tool smashing, and yet this is the only remedy offered by the Democratic party. The Republican party does not pretend that it would destroy the trust, it merely condemns all "conspiracies" and reserves the right to pass judgment as to what combinations come under this head. Of course, as the Republican party is owned and controlled by the trust magnates, they have no fear of adverse legislation so long as that party is retained in power. The Republican party, then, has no solution to offer to the trust problem; in fact, it is not looking for one. The owners of the party own the trusts, and are satisfied with things as they are. They wish to retain the ownership of these great combinations that they may continue to reap the advantages of the improved methods of production. These "owners" have no complaints to offer, they are getting along fairly well under present conditions.

While the Democratic party is reactionary, the Republican party has become stationary. It is opposed to further progress. It recognizes the fact of economic evolution, but wishes to check its consummation. The policies of this party has thus become a block to the wheels of progress. We have now reached that point in the economic evolution where further progress is impossible under the present system. The private ownership of these perfected instruments of production is incompatible with the nature of these instruments. The Republican policy of "stagnation" has necessitated the rise of another party that would champion the cause of progress. This party represents the world-wide movement of Socialism.

The Socialist party is the only party in accord with economic progress. It recognizes the fact of the industrial evolution, and the advantages of organization in industry. The problem which it is called upon to solve is to show how this improved method of production can be retained and at the same time secure the benefits to the people as a whole.

Collective ownership, the Socialist says, is the only solution of the problem. When the people own the tools they will receive all the benefits. We ask that the next step in the industrial evolution be taken; as individuals have combined into corporations and corporations into trusts, so trusts should combine into a great trust, a trust of all the people—the co-operative commonwealth. It is only in universal or complete combination that the industrial evolution can be consummated. The Social Democratic party, which is a Socialist party, points out the necessity of pushing the evolution on to its logical termination—public or collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution. It is only by this consummation that the economic evolution can prove beneficial to society as a whole.

As no argument is needed to show the advantages of combination, this is evident upon every hand; none should be needed to show the advisability of society utilizing this principle. The principle is sound and should be extended to the whole social order. When these large combinations and trusts, which embody the principle of combination, are socialized, then the evils threatened by Democratic "reaction" and those realized by Republican "private ownership" will disappear, leaving only the benefits resulting from co-operation which are now appropriated by the few, and which will then accrue to all the people.

REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY IN 1900

Comparison of the Democratic and
Republican Platforms—One Party
Incapable and the Other Dis-
honest According to the
Platforms of Each

THE BURIED ISSUES OF 1896

A Vote for Either the Republican or the
Democratic Parties is a Vote for the
Trusts, a Vote for Imperialism

John Harriman in International Review

The national platforms of both the republican and democratic parties are so wordy that a reproduction of them would require more space than is herein available, and yet there is an abundance of room for the consideration of all points worthy of notice.

When reference is made to these parties it will be understood to include only the authors of the platforms and their associates, rather than the rank and file of the voters. It will be interesting to note the compliments each party pays to the other; their vociferous professions of their own sincerity; the contradictions contained in each platform; how the platforms conflict with the acts of each party; their feigned love for the workingman; their professed loyalty to the flag, to the constitution and to the declaration of independence; their "noble responsibility" (?) for the Porto Rican, Cuban and Filipino; their hatred for corporate "conspiracies and combinations," and their effort to keep the producing class divided by riveting their attention to these superficial declarations, while the capitalist class holds the scepter and reaps the harvest.

The republican platform compliments the democratic party in the following language: "Under democratic administration business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired"; "capital was hidden away, labor distressed and unemployed"; "the menace to prosperity has always resided in democratic principles and in the general incapacity of the democratic party to conduct public affairs"; "the democratic party has never earned public confidence." Meanwhile the democratic platform compliments the republican party as follows: "The Porto Rico law enacted by a republican congress is a flagrant breach of the national good faith"; "the republican carpet-bag officials plunder the revenues (of Cuba) and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people"; "the declaration that the republican party steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine is manifestly insincere and deceptive"; "the republican party supports the trusts in return for campaign subscriptions and political support." Thus the one is said to be incapable and the other dishonest; and who is there that would dare dispute such high authority? Indeed, upon reflection one is inclined to be even more liberal and to concede that what each party says is not only true of the other, but is also applicable to themselves. The logic of events has driven both parties from the issues of the last presidential campaign; the tariff and the money question are buried, and the respective planks in the platforms only serve as headboards to their graves.

The democratic party has openly confessed that the issue of 16 to 1, upon which only four short years ago the institutions of this country were to eternally stand or fall, is now of minor importance, and the question of imperialism has taken its place. Thus the burial ceremonies were said; while the republican party insists that their legislation on money and tariff has been followed by "prosperity more general and abundant than we have ever known." And this claim is made in the face of the facts that a high "tariff" and a "gold standard" prevailed under Cleveland at the time when the republicans insist that "business was dead," "industry paralyzed," "credit impaired," "money hid away," "labor distressed," and also in the face of the facts that they made no material change in the tariff and the gold-standard laws, and the slight alteration in the currency law was not made until the last session of congress, after the "wave of prosperity" had passed. Priding themselves on the "wisdom of the gold-standard legislation of the fifty-sixth congress," passed after

(Continued on Second Page)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPT. 22, 1900.

NATIONAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party

For President:
EUGENE V. DEBS.

For Vice-President:
"JOB" HARRIMAN.

WORD AND ACT COMPARED

Mr. Jones of Toledo, claiming to be a Socialist, will support Bryan, who is an individualist.

Mr. Jones, claiming to believe in co-operation, will support Bryan, who believes in competition.

Mr. Jones, claiming to be a "non-partisan," has gone to the democratic party camp.

Mr. Jones, professing to believe in what he calls "new politics," has thrown his influence on the side of the rottenest "old" politics in the world.

Mr. Jones, proclaiming that "patriotism and partyism cannot abide together," has abandoned his own standard of patriotism and tumbled head-first into the most disreputable party in existence.

Mr. Jones, lustily denouncing "imperialism," has come out in support of Bryan, who used his influence with Democratic senators to force that "issue" upon the country and enlisted in the army to emphasize his at-one-ness with the McKinley policy.

Mr. Jones, declaring the position of the administration with respect to the Philippine war a "denial of equality," has gone to the party of Bryan, which denies political equality to black men in the south.

Mr. Jones, to emphasize his "hope for the future of America," which is "in the patriotism of the whole," has come out for the patriotism of a part of the whole.

Mr. Jones, sentimentally asserting his unswerving devotion to equality and justice, gives his support to a candidate whose policies are purely reactionary and, if possible of being carried out, would arrest the industrial evolution that leads to justice and equality.

Mr. Jones, instead of choosing to stand by "the high ideals of a few great souls who have a clear vision of the perfected social state" (see his letter), will stand by a mere man who is insidiously and distinctly using his popularity and his opportunities to make the attainment of the "perfected social state" impossible, or to postpone its attainment in the interest of the capitalist system, to which he is wedded.

Mr. Jones, asseverating his belief that the co-operative commonwealth is to be "set up" on this continent, instead of joining hands with those who work for it, goes over to a temporary popular politician and party that distinctly opposes what he says he wants.

Mr. Jones, deprecating Gatling guns and standing armies, declares for a party that says: "The national guard of the United States (used to murder workingmen who strike for a chance to live) should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people!"

Mr. Jones, declaring himself for "brotherhood Socialism" and against "party Socialism," has come out for bull-pen democracy.

Mr. Jones, who would have you believe he is a Socialist, has arrayed himself squarely on the side of capitalism, on the side of a capitalist political party, on the side of a capitalist candidate for president.

THE STRIKE OF THE MINERS

The most important facts relating to the miners' strike to get before the people of the country are the causes which have made the strike necessary. No one can foresee what will be the result of a strike in which 140,000 men, most of them heads of families, are engaged. Already it is feared that thousands of industries will be shut down for want of fuel, and the poor miners of Pennsylvania will likely have plenty of company in their struggle before it is ended. No man able to discriminate between right and wrong and disposed to see fair play in this dispute will be justified in taking

sides without first knowing what the miners demand and the reasons advanced therefor. The more important of these demands are as follows:

Abolition of the company stores.
 Reduction in price of powder to \$1.50 a keg.
 Abolition of company doctors.
 Semi-monthly payment of wages and payment in cash.

Two thousand two hundred and forty pounds of coal to the ton.

An advance of 20 per cent in wages less than \$1.50 and not exceeding \$1.75 a day.

All classes of day labor not receiving \$1.50 and not exceeding \$1.75 shall receive 15 per cent over present wages; that all day labor now receiving \$1.75 shall be advanced 10 per cent.

There is no doubt whatever that the mine owners are able to concede every one of these demands, if they will. Public sentiment should force them to do it, even though public comfort is to a great degree sacrificed. The average miner makes 90 cents a day when he works. Out of that he has to buy his powder and oil at the company store. He pays \$2.75 for powder that costs 88 cents at the mill. The law fixes a ton of coal at the mines at 2,240 pounds, but the miners are compelled to load 3,300 pounds for a ton. When a ton is delivered at the home of the consumer it weighs only 2,000 pounds. These facts illustrate in part only the cruel and inhuman treatment meted out to the miners by republican and democratic mine owners. The sufferings and hardships of the miners of Pennsylvania beggar description, and while we hope they will win in the struggle, even against fearful odds, we hope, too, that they will see the impossibility of any great improvement in their condition so long as they remain slaves of private corporations and come out boldly next November for Debs and Socialism.

DEMOCRATIC NOTIONS OF FREEDOM

For some time past Comrade W. C. Bohanon has been working in the interest of the Social Democratic party at Fort Wayne, Ind., a city which has the doubtful advantage over some others of having a Democratic mayor and administration. Bohanon has succeeded in arousing great interest in the cause of Socialism—so much so, indeed, that the local politicians sent to the national headquarters of the Democratic party in Chicago an urgent appeal to have Bryan, the anti-socialist, sent there to repair the damage. And Bryan went. But Bohanon kept on the even tenor of his way with that persistence for which he is well known in Chicago. The Democratic lovers of freedom at Fort Wayne started all sorts of untrue and ridiculous stories about the agitator, but the people would go to the Socialist meetings to hear him. At last, driven to desperation and with a desire to preserve the freedom of the American citizen, of which Democrats prate so much, the mayor threatened to arrest Bohanon and actually stopped one of his meetings.

This incident is in perfect accord with the course pursued by Democratic officials and the Democratic party elsewhere. That party is a political prostitute; it joined with the Republicans at Haverhill and elsewhere to beat the Socialists. It is an old hypocrite serving the interests of capitalism under the guise of devotion to freedom and humanity.

And this is the party that has assimilated Jones of Toledo!

TO MAYOR JONES.

For a' that and a' that,
 Your good desires and a' that,
 You wish us well, but still mon,
 We're comin' yet for a' that.

NOTES AND COMMENT

One of the largest manufacturing plants in the United States, a concern that employs 6,000 workmen and pays big dividends to its shareholders, is the Illinois Steel Company at South Chicago. The work performed by the men is laborious and the product has been in great demand. One would be justified in supposing that in this establishment the workmen knew what "prosperity" is and were sharing in it. The company evidently think their workmen are sharing it, for the fact that the monthly pay roll for Wednesday, August 16, was \$218,000 was given out as a "record breaker." The figures are imposing; they sound big; but what do they mean to the 6,000 men? Simply an average of only \$36.33 per month for each man, or about \$1.25 per man each working day. This is another example of your dollar-a-day prosperity under McHannaism.

Fifty years ago in England the Chartists told the workers that they could not hope for emancipation simply by relying upon unions of the skilled trades, which must act as an obstacle to complete socialization of the means of production. And the Chartists were right. Not until the working class organized for the purpose of controlling the forces of production instead of striking and frittering away its energies to gain trifling ameliorations of wage slavery, will it be emancipated. Vote the Social Democratic ticket and begin the work this year.

The kings are getting restless, confirming the testimony of King Henry when he said, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Leopold of Belgium is ready to abdicate in favor of his nephew, and Victor Emmanuel has renounced \$772,000 of his civil list—part of his pay as king—to win favor with the people of Italy. The purpose of this giving up so large a fortune is to reduce the tax on salt. These royal sops may win temporary favor, but they will not give the people what the rising Social Democracy of the world demands—absolute freedom from economic slavery.

Your "good citizen" is a fellow who, having had opportunities to get rich by plundering society and the producers of wealth, shirks his duty in contributing to the maintenance of the institutions which exist chiefly to protect him in his possession. The board of assessors of Cook County, Illinois, have just raised the valuation of one estate from \$800 to \$300,000, and of another from \$12,000 to \$300,000. These fellows who would escape with a tax 20 times too small are "good" citizens while another who holds you up and takes your week's wages at the point of a revolver is a criminal.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for the party of Steunenberg and the bull pen.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for the party that disfranchises American citizens in North Carolina.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for the perpetuation of the capitalist system, for competition, for war, for the imperialism of private capital.

No thorough Socialist can consistently vote for Bryan.

Competition reaches its tragic climax in militarism and imperialism.

Bryanism proposes more competition, which will of necessity lead to more imperialism.

Therefore, Bryanism, which favors competition, also favors war and all the imperialism necessary to maintain competition.

Bryan is an Individualist and Capitalist Politician

Lincoln, Neb., May 11, '97

Mr. F. G. R. Gordon,
 Manchester, N. H.

Dear Sir.—You ask me whether I am in favor of Socialism and define it to mean "the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution," and desire an answer "Yes" or "No." I answer, No.

Yours truly,
 [Signed] W. J. Bryan.

The British having annexed the Transvaal, are now hanging or shooting the brave Boers who cannot be reconciled to British rule. Weyler was damned in Cuba, but Butcher Roberts is deified in Britain.

The best things for the campaign are the six four-page leaflets issued by the National Committee. Mailed to any address for one dollar a thousand.

Every workman who votes for Bryan in the expectation of improving his condition will throw his vote away.

You are a Socialist. But not of the Jones stripe, we hope. You can't be a Socialist and vote for an individualist.

You can't put out too many of the Campaign Leaflets. Each one is good and will do its work.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND

The national campaign committee has so far done very effective work with the funds at its disposal, and now has a series of six powerful, vote-making leaflets for circulation. More money is needed, however, and it is hoped that the comrades everywhere will realize the magnitude of the task committed to the hands of those who are exerting themselves to the utmost to enlighten the people in the principles of our party and the Socialist movement. At least a quarter of a million leaflets should be distributed in the mining districts of Pennsylvania during the next two or three weeks. To do this work requires money, and the committee can appeal only to Social Democrats for contributions. During the next three weeks, comrades, make your contributions to the fund as large as possible, thus enabling the committee to more effectively carry out its plans. The emissaries of capitalism are everywhere active and the people everywhere receptive. No comrade should allow the opportunities for disseminating the emancipating principles of Socialism to pass unimproved. Send your dollar now to the fund and give the committee the encouragement of your active work and support.

Who will be the first to contribute one dollar to a special fund to send a quarter of a million assorted leaflets into the coal mining districts of Pennsylvania?

REPUBLICANISM AND DEMOCRACY IN 1900

(Continued from First Page)

the boom was over, they proceed to bury the tariff, with the following inscription upon the tombstone: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," "whose constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world." Thus they paid tribute to the dead issue, for of what value is a tariff if we are able to "enter the markets of the world"? But since that is a fact, could protection have caused the boom of which they boast? Surely this will need no argument. These issues buried, they take their respective position upon the new issues of imperialism, of the trust and of expansion, with a bait on the side for labor. The republican party, in its efforts to justify imperialism, declares that the "war was for liberty and human rights," and that "ten millions of the human race were given a new birth of freedom and the American people a new and noble responsibility." If these men are free, are we responsible for them? Is it really freedom or slavery into which they have been born? The republican party says that the "largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be given them." What right have we to determine upon the measure of self-government consistent with their welfare? Was this not precisely what England said of us when we were weak? Is this not always the excuse of the powerful when they are unscrupulously forcing tribute from the weak? Thus our constitution and declaration of independence are trampled under foot, and taxation without representation becomes the policy of the republican party.

The democratic party, being ever watchful for political advantage, perceives this flaw and promptly declares "that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny . . . and is a substitution of the methods of imperialism for those of a republic," and that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Indeed! and did the democratic party disfranchise the colored people of North Carolina because "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?"

The democrats assert that "no nation can long endure half republic and half empire." Can any state long so endure? Look again at North Carolina. Again they warn us that "imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home." Has not despotism already followed imperialism in North Carolina? Were the democrats in power, would they be more just to the colored Porto Rican than they are to the colored Carolinian? Is not democratic imperialism and tyranny as hateful in North Carolina as republican tyranny and imperialism is in Porto Rico and the Philippines?

The republicans are doing in Porto Rico and the Philippines precisely what the democrats are doing in North Carolina, and there is no reason to suppose that either would change their conduct if they were to exchange places. Give them power, and they will both be imperialists. The democratic platform declares that "the burning issue of imperialism grew out of the Spanish war," and yet they declare that "trusts are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few, at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiable greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed." Is this not imperialism? Does not imperialism reign in all our industries? Did it grow out of this Spanish war? Can a nation long exist half republic and half empire? Can imperialism continue in our industries and democracy in our politics?

The democratic platform says that "private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable." They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the unfinished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer." While the republican platform "condemns all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favors such legislation as will effectually restrain and prevent all such abuses."

Since they are both agreed upon this proposition, and since they are the only parties represented in congress, it is pertinent to ask why they did not do something toward carrying out their professions? Each blames the others, and again they are both right, for they are both at fault. The proof is to be found in the fact that they are agreed upon two still more fundamental propositions, from which the other issues arise. They endorse the wages system, and uphold the rights of capital. The republican platform says, first: "We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor," by which "the wages in every department of labor has been maintained at high rates." Second: "We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions."

The democratic platform says, first: "We favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees." Second: "Cor-

porations should be protected in all their rights and legitimate interests."

Upon these two propositions they are certainly agreed. But the wages system means that one man employs another for a part of his product and keeps the rest. It also means that the employer will keep more of the worker's product than is sufficient to live upon; otherwise he would do well to work for a wage. But since the workers produce more than enough to pay themselves and to keep their employers, where is there to be found a market for the rest? Evidently there will be no home market for such products. That which is left over will first become capital. The aggregation of this capital will grow into corporations with their alleged "legitimate interests." The aggregation of these corporations means trusts. In proportion as the number of trusts increases the number of employers decreases. As the machinery of production is improved in its efficiency, so also can fewer men perform the task and at the same time live on a smaller proportion of their increased product. Thus is the surplus for which there is no market constantly and necessarily increased.

It is for this reason that the republican platform says that "new markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our products," and the democratic platform says "we favor trade expansion."

It was this surplus that caused our war with Spain, under the pretext of freeing the suffering Cuban. Yet the republican party claims that the war was "unsought and patiently resisted." It is also this surplus which is causing the war with China, under the pretext of saving the missionaries and legations. The republican platform says that "every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient." And those markets or people which are conquered will be given that "measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties." And thus is political imperialism becoming established as a result of our industrial imperialism, and taxation without representation is the ruling policy. But it is to be expected that this will be the political policy when every industrial establishment in our country is a little empire, with an employer as absolute monarch, "protected in his legitimate interests," and where the workers are his subjects. Nor should we be surprised at the policy of taxation without representation in the colonies, for this is our custom in our industries.

(Continued Next Week)

STATE ORGANIZATION EFFECTED IN MONTANA

I am instructed to inform you that in pursuance to a call issued by Butte Branch, No. 1, S. D. P., a convention of the S. D. P. was held in the city of Butte on Tuesday, Aug. 28, 1900. The convention was called for the purpose of electing an executive board and to begin the necessary preliminary work required by law for the placing of a new party in Montana's political arena—at present the most turbulent in the west.

The convention was called to order by Chairman Davis of Butte Branch, No. 1, who was thereupon nominated as temporary chairman. O. M. Partelow was nominated as temporary secretary, as also was Fred Staub, who declined, and there being no further nominations, Comrade Davis was elected chairman of the first state union of the S. D. P. held in the state of Montana. Comrade Partelow was elected secretary pro tem.

A motion to appoint a committee on credentials was then put and carried, and the following committee appointed: L. E. Beaudry of Anaconda, V. S. Anderson of Livingston and Gustave Frankel of Butte. A committee on permanent organization and order of business was appointed as follows: J. F. Fox, M. J. Elliott and W. N. Holden, all of Butte.

A recess was then taken to allow the committees time to report. After a recess of twenty minutes the union was called to order and the committee on credentials presented their report, which was adopted as read. The committee on rules of order and permanent organization reported the temporary officers as permanent. The selection of an executive board, the selection of time and place for a nominating convention and the adoption of the national platform of the S. D. P. party.

The report of the committee was then adopted as read, and the executive board of five was then nominated, and upon ballot elected as follows: Martin J. Elliott, J. F. Fox, O. M. Partelow, W. N. Holden, all of Butte, and L. E. Beaudry of Anaconda, Comrade V. S. Anderson of Livingston declining.

After some animated discussion, the date and place of the nominating convention was set for Sept. 18 at Butte.

The committee on resolutions, composed of Gustave Frankel, Martin Elliott, O. M. Partelow, V. S. Anderson, L. E. Beaudry, simply adopted the national platform of our party.

The convention then adjourned and the executive board met at 8:30 p. m., and Comrade Elliott was elected chairman, Comrade Beaudry vice-chairman, Comrade Partelow secretary, Comrade Fox treasurer.

Oscar M. Partelow,
 Secretary State Executive Board,
 Butte, Mont.

WHY NOT NOW?

George C. Clemens' Caustic Criticism of the "Fusion Reformers" of Kansas

(From Western Socialist News)

Referring to Mr. Hoffman's address at the Fort Scott convention, a fusion paper says:

"The hearty applause which greeted Chairman Hoffman's allusion to Socialism as the great issue of the future demonstrated very conclusively the sentiments of the populists on that proposition."

And why is not Socialism "the great issue" of the present? Are we waiting for the capitalist system to come so Socialism will have something to fight? Or do some people wish to be elected to office now, and become militant Socialists when the party gets votes enough to elect them to office in the future? While the people's party lived, I steadfastly refused to join a Socialist party in Kansas, for the people's party of Kansas was headed for outright Socialism. In 1898 its platform declared for it in a pointed paragraph. What became of that paragraph at Fort Scott? Did it get lost in the shuffle?

I find much "talk" in the Fort Scott platform, but I do not find Socialism. Mr. Hoffman knows as well as any man that the democratic party is not hungering and thirsting after Socialism. He knows that Bryan and Stevenson are no more Socialists than McKinley and Roosevelt. He knows that it makes not a particle of difference to the poor whether the capitalist government they live under is a republic or an empire; that all governments are alike in their treatment of the poor. All this humbug about "saving the country" is so old that it is to be found satirized in George Eliot's novels. Oliver Goldsmith took a humorous shot at it a hundred and fifty years ago. It won't do. Mr. Hoffman is too much a man of the world to seriously believe any such nonsense. Then what other really important issue is there to prevent Socialism being "the great issue" of the living present? Last year, and up to the very hour I left the triune fake, I was constantly assured that the paramount issue of this campaign would be trusts, and that in the discussion of that issue we Socialists could and would discuss Socialism as the only remedy. For this reason, it was urged, the Socialists should remain with the "reform forces" and not throw away their opportunity for agitation. But the Kansas City convention not only declared "imperialism"—of trusts—the "paramount issue" of the campaign, but adopted such a reactionary trust plank as must effectually close the mouth of every Socialist, if he campaigns for the fusionists, as to the Socialist view of trusts. I knew it would be so. I knew also that if I waited for that convention it would be too late to organize the Socialists of Kansas for this year. I did not propose to be tricked again as I was in 1898, when at the urgent request of Socialists, a Socialist platform was adopted, thus putting us in a position which precluded our bolting, and the state committee persistently refused to put that platform on the stump except as pressure compelled them at last to put me on the stump with great reluctance. So I left early, and I am glad I did. It is my opinion that Socialism is "the great issue" of the present, and that it will be "the great issue of the future" also until capitalism shall be no more. Militant Socialism is organized in Kansas today in such a way that no fusionist need hope to ever fuse it with anything else. "Public ownership" don't go. The men afraid to say "Socialism" may go where they please. They will have no voice in the Social Democratic party. Government ownership of railroads and municipal ownership of municipal utilities, with the rest of the Bismarkian program of state Socialism, do not constitute scientific Socialism, nor even approach it. Many governments own railroads and telegraphs. Indeed, this is the rule outside of America. Many cities own public utilities. Yet has poverty diminished in those nations or cities? Glasgow is the shining example of municipal ownership, yet Glasgow can show you poverty at which, if humane, you cannot look, I know, for I have been there, and, when retreating before the appalling misery, the special constable who was conducting a party of us protested that we had reached only "the edge." Let the government own the American railroads and under civil service security of employment you build up an aristocracy of labor—you will have a great army of employees who will care nothing for the condition of their brethren, who will take no part in the agitation for Socialism. Nationalize and socialize enough "public utilities" without touching the resources of nature and the tools of industry, and you set back Socialism for centuries, by withdrawing its voting and agitating strength under the operation of stringent civil service regulations. How many members of the paid fire departments of America are active Socialists? How many postal employees? How many teachers in the public schools? From colleges, not from public schools, have come Socialism's martyrs of the chair. From every avoca-

tion come Socialists in capitalistic employment. How many come from the departments at Washington? Socialism, as Socialists understand it, is not mere "public ownership of public utilities." It is the public ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution, and their management to the exclusive end that all the people may have equal chance to live full human lives. All the Fort Scott platform stands for, Bismarck long ago proposed. It could all be accomplished and the great mass of the people be miserably poor. We Socialists refuse to be deluded. We will not compromise. We will not retreat a single inch to elect somebody to office. We will be "harsh as truth, as uncompromising as justice"; and we will be heard, even if every man on the triune ticket has to earn his bread like the rest of us. The poor we stand for do not want a few men to hold government jobs. They wish every man and woman to be in public employ. Appeals to Socialists to support the triune ticket, national or state, might as well be omitted in convention addresses. The end of that sort of thing has arrived. You tell us "Breidenthal is an ardent Socialist?" "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles gather." If Debs were a candidate for governor, on a ticket hoping to win, as Breidenthal is today, would bankers and conservative republicans be for him? Would he have the support of leading republican, conservative newspapers? Why not? Can you think of any reason why not but that every voter would know that were Debs elected he would stand by the poor, and look after the rich only in case he had spare time? Why do bankers and conservative republicans and democrats support Breidenthal, while they would denounce Debs were he the candidate of the very same party? Answer this if you can consistently with the idea that, in the estimation of these conservative supporters, Breidenthal is as good a Socialist as anybody? He may be "a theoretical Socialist," as Webb McNeill says some men are "theoretical prohibitionists." What will Mr. Breidenthal do in case of a strike? Will he say? Dare he say? Dare he say he would do as Debs would? Will he dare say he would do as I would. Let us have done with this palaver. The fusionists are running on a capitalist ticket—a ticket capitalist to the core. The Socialists are through. If alleged Socialists in the triune ranks are nursing, as they seem to be, the fond delusion that the militant Socialists of Kansas are making sacrifices this year and enduring the abuse of the cohorts of reform for the sole purpose of building up another party for them to fuse and wreck, it would be well for them to disabuse their intellects at once. Until now there was reasonable excuse for Socialists in Kansas to refrain from joining a Socialist party, for, left to itself, the people's party was certain to become the Socialist party. But with no people's party in the field, and with the fusion national candidates anti-Socialists, upon a platform absolutely negating all discussion of Socialism, what excuse, but a desire to be with the winning crowd and secure the possible spoils, has any Socialist in Kansas to stand aloof from the Socialist party? The alleged Socialists who fight us this year will be permitted to join us, of course, hereafter, for we welcome the world; but they will not be made "bosses" the first week or two. They are making their beds and must try to lie in them with what comfort they can. A republican is a man who votes the republican ticket. A fusionist is a man who votes the fusionist ticket. And from today henceforth only that man will be recognized as a Kansas Socialist who votes a Kansas Socialist ticket. The time has come to draw the line. Henceforth people can no more claim to be Socialists and vote against a Socialist ticket in order to get office, than after John Brown's scaffold had stood out against the bleak Virginia sky a man could claim to be an abolitionist while voting with a slaveholder's party. In every movement there comes a time when the sheep and goats divide. It has come in the Socialist movement in Kansas.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

Thirteenth Lesson—General Tendencies and Protest of Herbert Spencer—The State and National Monopolies; Municipal Control or Ownership; State Control or Ownership of Means of Transportation; State Care of Indigent and Vicious; Questions of Land Tenure, Land Transfer and National Finance Significance of These Questions in Politics. Protest of Herbert Spencer. (Books: H. C. Adams, Relations of State Industrial Action; Ely, Taxation; Bemis, Municipal Monopolies; Proceedings of American Economical Association, Vols. 1, 2 and 6; Hadley, Railroad Transportation; Dixon, State Railroad Control; Gide, Political Economy; Spencer, Man vs. the State; Mackay, A Plea for Liberty.)

Fourteenth Lesson—The New Political Economy—Economics; the Mathematical Method; the Historical Method;

Contemporary Writers in Europe and America; the Several Schools. Economics and Sociology; Social Reformation. Contrast Between the Old and New Attitude of Liberalism Toward the State. Some Unsolved Problems. (Books: Lecky, Democracy and Liberty; Marshall, Principles of Economics; Gide, Political Economy; Keynes, Scope and Methods of Political Economy; Clarke, The Philosophy of Wealth; Ritchie, Principles of State Interference.)

CALENDAR

Paper—The Sociological Basis of Ethics. Discussion—The function of ethics in social progress.

Paper—The Race and the Individual. Discussion—The philosophy of human life.

Paper—The Present Condition of the Family. Discussion—The ethics of sex relationship.

Paper—The Causes of the Social Evil. Discussion—The best social policy with respect to the social evil.

Paper—The Present Social Position of Women. Discussion—The social effects of the new status of women.

Paper—The Rights of Children. Discussion—The duties of society and parents to children.

Paper—Industrial Ideals. Discussion—The social tendencies of industrialism.

Paper—Land as a Factor in Production. Discussion—Influences of city life on social development.

Paper—Combinations of Labor and Capital. Discussion—The attitude of society toward industrial conflicts.

Paper—The Problems of Wealth Distribution. Discussion—The ideal basis of property rights.

Paper—Types of Social Theory—Individualism, Collectivism, Communism. Discussion—Influences of industrialism upon social theories.

Paper—The Function of Society Respecting Public Health. Discussion—The ethics of public sanitation.

Paper—The Philosophy of Government. Discussion—Where should governmental sovereignty be located?

Paper—The Future and Ethical End of Government. Discussion—What policy should govern the United States with respect to the acquisition of new territory?

Paper—The Contributions of the Liberal Professions to Social Welfare. Discussion—Is representative government threatened by a monopolization of governmental functions by one class?

Paper—Problems of Municipal Government. Discussion—Does centralization of government threaten local interests?

Paper—The Sociological Significance of Education. Discussion—Educational methods in the public schools.

Paper—The Ethical Idea of Education. Discussion—Ethical instruction in the public schools.

Paper—Religion as a Social Factor. Discussion—Is morality dependent upon a supernatural sanction?

Paper—The Ideal Position of the Church in Society. Discussion—Does the right principle of authority or that of freedom in religion best conserve moral progress?

Paper—Social Customs as Fostering Luxury. Discussion—The use and misuse of luxury.

Paper—The Causes of Social Dependence. Discussion—Do the present methods of charity administration reach the root of the evil?

Paper—The Causes of Criminality. Discussion—Are the present methods of criminal correction ethical?

Paper—The State and the Liquor Traffic. Discussion—Is the social welfare conserved by legal restriction of the liquor traffic?

Paper—The Problems of Immigration. Discussion—Is human welfare conserved by the policy of unrestricted immigration in the United States?

Paper—Science from the Sociological View Point. Discussion—Is a scientific training conducive to a sound philosophy of life?

Paper—The Sociology of Useful Arts. Discussion—Is the modern tendency in the useful arts toward a caste system desirable?

Paper—Natural Harmony as a Foundation of the Fine Arts. Discussion—Has art a natural or a conventional basis?

Paper—The Social Function of Fine Art. Discussion—How can the fine arts be socialized?

Annual Business Meeting. Discussion—The results of the year's work and the outlook for the future.

HEROY IN MA CH'ETTS

Our branches are now voting upon the report of the proceedings of the conference of Sept. 2. As soon as the votes are returned we will get to work regularly and systematically. One comrade, whose branch was not represented at the conference for good and sufficient reasons, writes, upon receipt of the report: "To every section of the report of the conference I say 'Amen,' and feel certain that every comrade of Branch — will gladly and even joyfully do likewise as soon as the work of the conference becomes known to them. Our next regular meeting comes on Sept. 23, but I will call a special one in a few days, as the news is too good to keep from the boys any longer than is necessary." Massachusetts will yet re-

deem itself. If we had a national organization composed of branches like that one, we would have the "bomb-proof organization" that Comrade Keliher wants.

The action of the conference has put new life into us. The comrades are active everywhere. Three new branches are under way, and another good healthy branch that I have classed a "doubtful" has this week declared itself loyal to the original S. D. P. and come into our loyal federation.

Open air meetings are popular these cool, pleasant September days. Everett branch holds one every Saturday evening. Sunday afternoon is a favorite time for out-door meetings. The one held at Island Grove, Abington, a week ago was attended by 1,500 people—"a good Plymouth county crowd, too," as one comrade expressed it. The Quincy boys are to have one next Sunday, the 16th, at Bellamy Grove, which they intend shall surpass the one they had last year, and that is saying a great deal.

Don't forget the picnic at Oakland Grove, East Dedham, on the 23d. In addition to our always popular Dr. Gibbs, Mayor Coulter and National Organizer MacCartney, we are to have Dr. Keown of Lynn, whose impassioned speech at the conference pleading that we hold high the standard of Socialism far above the defilement of political trickery and keep our organization worthy of the high principles we profess, made a deep impression. We expect to net a considerable sum for the national campaign fund.

But the greatest and choicest piece of news I have reserved to the last. Listen: On the 18th inst., at Rockland, in the opera house, we are to have speak for us Prof. George D. Herron. Isn't that good news, comrades? MacCartney is going to have a hard fight to get back to the legislature this year, but the boys realize it and have their coats off and sleeves rolled up already. There is one man who can produce more effect upon the people of Rockland than almost any other in the whole country, and that man is Prof. Herron, and we are to have him. You see, some four years ago he held a series of meetings in Rockland and made a profound impression. He was not a Socialist in those days, but he got hold of the people of this staid New England town, these descendants of the Pilgrims; and he holds them still. To have him come back as an avowed Socialist and speak under the auspices of the S. D. P. will have a tremendous effect. More about it next week. Margaret Haile.

LOCAL BRANCHES

Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA

Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

Membership, Social Democrats. A. Farid free to each member, 25 cents per month. Apply to the secretary, John C. Wesley, 117 Turk street.

Branch No. 1, Los Angeles, meets every Sunday afternoon at 8 o'clock at Woodmen's Hall, 1254 Spring St. J. Frank, 700 Dayton Ave., Secretary.

COLORADO

Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 8:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave. Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1629 17th Street.

Branch No. 2, Golden, meets every Sunday at 7:30 p. m., at City Hall. Chas. La Camp, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT

The Connecticut State Committee meets the last Sunday of each month at 2 p. m., at P. Schaffer's, 7039 Main St., Hartford. Louis Schiefel, Sec., 26 Spring St., Rockville, Conn.

Branch No. 3, New Haven, meets every Wednesday evening, at 8 p. m., at Aurora Hall. C. Volmer, Sec.

Branch No. 4, Rockville, Conn., meets first and third Thursdays at Turn Hall meeting room, Village street. Secretary, Richard Niederwarter, Box 760.

ILLINOIS

Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regularly second and fourth Wednesdays of each month at Dr. J. E. Greer's office, 62 Dearborn St.

Branch No. 1, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thomas Kirwin, Secretary, 2604 West-worth Ave.

Branch No. 2 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets first and third Saturdays at 8 p. m. at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. Ferdinand Brodoka, Secretary, 644 West 18th St.

Branch No. 3 (Bohemian), Chicago, meets second and fourth Mondays at 8 p. m. in Dunder's place, 1080 W. 18th place. Joseph Dunder, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays of each month at Plank's Hall, cor. Centre and 19th st. Jos. Cerny, Sec., 530 W. 18th St.

Branch No. 5 (German), Chicago, meets every first Saturday at 8 p. m. at 8 o'clock at Nagl's Hall, 535 Blue Island Ave. near 18th St. Albin Geisler, Secretary, 724 W. 20th St.

Branch No. 6 (Bohemian) Chicago, meets second and fourth Sundays at 9 a. m., at 8022 Linc Street. J. A. Ambrose, Secretary, 4940 Wood Street.

Branch No. 8, Chicago, meets at 1145 W. 32nd st., first and third Sundays at 8 p. m. Gus Larson, Secretary, 6243 Center avenue.

INDIANA

Branch No. 4, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichweiss Hall, corner Market and Noble st. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 617 Albor ave.

Branch No. 5, Hitman, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house. James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 151.

IOWA

Branch No. 4, Burlington, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 91 Fairfield ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listemann, Sec., 125 First ave.

MASSACHUSETTS

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, meets second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at Springfield Turn Hall. Carl Schwabe, Organizer, 24 Jackson St.

ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

To all Socialist organizations, Turner societies, trade unions and all other associations in sympathy with the Socialist movement in Illinois, greeting:

The Socialist movement of this state is united politically and has one ticket, with Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman as our presidential candidates. With a desire to make the campaign successful, we solicit your co-operation and financial assistance. We therefore request a contribution proportionate to your ability to give, either in a single sum or in weekly contributions during the campaign. Please send all contributions to Frederick G. Strickland, secretary, either care Workers' Call, 36 North Clark street, or care Social Democratic Herald, 126 Washington street. Philip S. Brown, R. A. Morris, Committee.

ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN FUND

For week ending Sept. 10:
Income from Wellington Hall...\$20.95
Comrade Zeigler 5.00
Comrade H. Singer 5.00
Collected by Jos. Weiss on list No. 355—
Jos. Weiss25
M. Mortimer15
S. Levinton15
J. W. C.15
Deno15
H. Landfield10
S. Landfield10
M. Steinert10
H. Landfield05
Collected on list No. 373—
E. Jodi 1.00
E. Wennel25
W. Dein25
K. Rudolph25
H. Dose50
P. Bischoff25
A. Fittig50
P. Roseman50
M. Miller50
M. Deschler50
A. Kleinschmitt50
Th. August25
J. W. Saunders50
J. Dobleman50
Total \$38.40

Every branch should order a five-dollar bunch of literature, which would include 33 Debs lithographs and 4,000 leaflets. Every Socialist can place a few lithographs where they will make votes for the party and increase the local branch membership.

Places desiring Comrade Debs for a meeting must send in applications at once.

MICHIGAN

Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m., at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA

Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI

Branch No. 7, Kansas City, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 Union Ave. G. J. Storz, Secretary, 1230 W. 9th St.

MONTANA

Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Oswald Block, G. Frankel, Sec., 11 E. Park Street.

Branch No. 2 meets first and third Sundays of each month at G. W. Wood's home, Chico, Mont.

NEW JERSEY

Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schorr, 87 Livingston st.

Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 3d Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1208 Kaigh's Avenue.

Branch No. 3 (German) Newark, meets every third Sunday, at International Hall, 7 Bedford St. Hans Hartwig, Secretary, 7 Bedford St.

Branch No. 6 (German), Paterson, N. J., meets first and third Mondays at 8 p. m. at Helvetia Hall, 54-56 Van Houten St. Karl Lindner, Secretary, 246 Edmund St.

NEW YORK

The City Central Action Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk st. care of "Forward."

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every first and third Thursday at 113 Clinton St. A. Guyer, Secretary, 138 Suffolk St.

Branch No. 5, Brooklyn, New York, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 56 Moore St. Visitors welcome. Comrades desiring to organize should communicate with Secretary Sol. Freeman, 190 Boerum St.

Branch No. 10, New York, meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., 209 E. Broadway. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. Organizer, Joseph Williams, 56 Henry st.

OHIO

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelien Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 p. m. Lectures and discussions. Public invited. J. J. Vesin, Secretary, 1410 Central Avenue.

OREGON

Branch No. 1, Portland, meets every Monday night at Washington Hotel, Cor. 3d and Flanders Sts. Every body invited. T. C. Wendland, chairman; Mrs. N. E. Fortsch, secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 E. 3rd Street, until further notice.

Branch No. 4, Conardport, Meets every second and last Wednesday of each month in K. of L. Hall. Chas. Knapp, Chairman; L. H. Morse, Secretary, Ben. Conington, Treasurer.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning—at 8. D. P. Club Rooms, at 423 E. Third St. Organizer, M. Gillis, 1007 E. Third St.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and third Monday of each month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut st.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kaller's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Shaboywin, Meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Handke's place, 1111 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Kichenberger, 1701 N. 11th street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Muller's Hall, corner 23d and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 821 25th St.

Branch No. 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at the corner of the Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkhaus' Hall, 23d and Center st., 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Leechman, 1125 23rd St.

Branch No. 25, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Friday of each month at 1224 Clark street. Henry Harbicht, Sec., 1074 7th Street.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM

Adopted at the Indianapolis Convention, March, 1900

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

J. J. Rittman, Reymond	1.00
Branch 57, Massachusetts	10.00
Branch 25, Wisconsin	10.00
Elizabeth Thomas, Roxbury	1.00
Peter Riley	.50
David White	.25
W. A. Downing	.25
Margaret Hall	.25
A. C. Mendell	.25
Kieland Chisholm's list, Chicago	21.00
Branch 2, Wisconsin	10.00
Hugh Crumley, Cincinnati	1.00
H. Richter	1.00
R. Biederman	1.00
"Fractious"	1.00
A. E. Schuttenheim	1.00
Z. B. Neid	1.00
L. A. Nagel	2.00
P. Desher	.50
W. H. Brockmire	.50
Emil Lang	.50
A. Berry	.50
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E. Hitchens	.50
Branch 4, Wisconsin	10.00
Ang. Hanson, Milwaukee	.50
Frank Bauer	.50
J. J. Dietrich	.50
John Merget	.50
Karl Bues	.50
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L. K. Krawfeller	.50
Geo. Moerschel	.50
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Henry Stoltenberg	.50
Wm. Fell	.50
Error in transfer	3.10
Previously reported	1,158.50
	\$1,156.60

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER
THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness depend upon equal political and economic rights.

In our economic development an industrial revolution has taken place, the individual tool of former years having become the social tool of the present. The individual tool was owned by the worker who employed himself and was master of his product. The social tool, the machine, is owned by the capitalist and the worker is dependent upon him for employment. The capitalist thus becomes the master of the worker and is able to appropriate to himself a large share of the product of his labor.

Capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people; but the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will necessitate the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—i. e., the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

Therefore the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be:

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic party will be tantamount to the abolition of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete

control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation, and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights, for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Fifteen cents will purchase Merrie England in the German language, adapted to American needs. If you don't read German, buy one for your friends.

See notice of new leaflets—they make Socialists.

The new buttons are union made and all right. Twenty cents per dozen.

You write letters? Put a sticker on the back of each envelope. Five hundred for 50 cents.

Branch dues for last quarter of the year are payable October 5th. Comrades, please take notice.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

The Graham Gem, formerly a populist paper, published at Hill City, Kan., has hoisted the entire Social Democratic ticket, national and state.

Comrade Ricker of Iowa filled several appointments in Nebraska this week, speaking at Omaha, Council Bluffs, Plattsmouth and South Omaha.

Comrade E. V. Debs spoke to a deeply interested audience at Van Horne, Iowa, September 11, the occasion being the Firemen's annual field day.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

If any reader of the Herald has information of the whereabouts of Richard Scholl he will confer a favor by communicating with Wm. E. Eckart, 1211 Armstrong avenue, St. Louis, Mo.

The Deb's leaflet at 75 cents per thousand, charges paid, is much the best leaflet for propaganda in some localities. We should receive more orders for them. They are small, but to the point, and will make S. D. P. votes.

Do you know the motto of the capitalist party voters? "We don't care if we never wake up." Socialists are awake, but must wake up the old party men before we can improve our condition.

It is advisable to stamp all leaflets, etc., with the local branch address and time of meeting, in order to get more direct returns for the work of distributing them. Let the voters of your locality know of your meeting, and then provide a good speaker to explain the principles of Socialism.

For \$5 the national campaign committee will send, postage paid, thirty-three Debs lithographs (21x28 in.) and 4,000 Leaflets, the latter to include an assortment of all the six Leaflets so far issued. Every one is a vote-maker—every one will convert thinking people to Socialism. The expenditure of \$5 in your community for this campaign outfit will start a movement where you live.

PROF. HERRON WILL SPEAK.

We have great pleasure in announcing that Prof. George D. Herron has accepted an invitation to speak at the Central Music Hall meeting, with Comrade Eugene V. Debs, Saturday evening, September 29. This will be Prof. Herron's first public appearance in Chicago since his return from Europe.

The office force at Campaign Headquarters had to call in volunteers this week to help with the work. But there are plenty of comrades ready to respond, so pile in your orders every day to the close of the campaign.

Watch our campaign fund grow—and help it along. Every dollar sent in will tell hundreds of wage slaves how to vote; that the Socialists are making a great campaign against capitalism; that Socialism will win out because we are here to stay. We are IT.

Samuel Hoar, of Terre Haute, has been nominated on the Social Democratic ticket for Congress; Pickett Connett for State Senator; Redman Keenan, of Clinton, for Joint Representative, and John Hoagland for Commissioner of the First District of Illinois.

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The Social Democrats of the Pekin (Ill.) district met September 12 and nominated J. E. Edwards, of Canton, for Congress; B. F. Ordway, of Peoria, for Member of State Board of Equalization; C. E. Crandall, of Pekin, for Senator from the 26th District, and F. W. Moore, of Middle Grove, for Representative 26th District.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

The Stickers have made a hit. You should have a thousand or ten thousand to put up in your community. They are two inches square, put up in packages of 500 and very handy. They are designed to fix in the mind the fact that the Social Democrats are in the field with a candidate for president. They do the business. One thousand, postage paid, one dollar.

The Socialists would like to send a relief train to Texas sufferers—and to factory workers, farmers, railroad men, miners, and other wage workers in every state in the Union—but the relief we would send would be car loads of literature, and in place of doctors, nurses and medicine cases, we would send speakers, writers, organizers. Will some great newspaper pay for this? Has Hearst's American-Examiner-Journal something more important to do?

All organizations intending to take part in the parade of Sept. 29 are requested to carry banners and flags and assemble on Market square, between Madison and Randolph, at 6 o'clock p. m. The parade will start at 7 sharp, and line of march will be announced next week. Organizations will also send name and marshal of the day to Ferdinand Svoboda, chief marshal, 694 West Eighteenth street.

NOTICE TO BRANCHES

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending Dec. 31 are due at the headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before Oct. 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

NEW BRANCHES

California, one.
Indiana, three.
Missouri, one.
Ohio, one.
Maryland, one.

CAMPAIGN LEAFLETS

PUSH THEM OUT AND MAKE VOTES

No. 1—Address to Unorganized Socialists

Contains information concerning the Socialist movement in the United States, the party and its methods, object and program.

No. 2—An Open Letter to the Average American Workman

By Ben. Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

No. 3—Machine Production Where the Profits Go.

The argument of this leaflet is a clincher because taken from the government reports made by the Commissioner of Labor, and proves that machinery, combinations, trusts and systematized production must lead to socialism. It's the only way out.

No. 4—Toilers of America Vote for Your Freedom.

This is a remarkably effective campaign document. Written by a prominent member of the United Mine Workers, it sets forth in a convincing manner the reasons why the miners of the country, railroadmen and all other wage workers should support the Social Democratic ticket.

No. 5—Industrial Crises—Cause and Cure.

A strong appeal to the common sense of the voters, this leaflet gives the Socialist view of industrial crises and convincingly shows that Socialism is the necessary solution.

No. 6—Platform and Debs Epigrams.

This is a very attractive addition to our campaign literature; it gives the party platform complete with a collection of the very best epigrammatic sentences from the lectures of Eugene V. Debs, together with other striking contributions.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies\$.10
100 Copies15
250 Copies25
500 Copies50
1,000 Copies 1.00
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POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

.. GRAND .. SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION

Inaugurating the First National Campaign of the Social Democratic Party, at Chicago,

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1900.

In which all Socialist Organizations, clubs, societies and trades unions are invited to participate

DAY PARADE AND MASS MEETING

The Central Music Hall has been engaged for a Mass Meeting at night to be addressed by

EUGENE V. DEBS
Candidate for President

PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

The occasion will also be made a Reunion of the men who fought the Lexington of the Labor Struggle, the American Railway Union.

A BANNER OR A DOLLAR.

This opening meeting of the Campaign must be made a great success and every Society, Branch or Section is called upon to contribute money or send a Banner with Comrades to bear it through the streets of the Commercial Heart of the Country.

Remember the Date—September 29.

Let every man be ready and make it a day memorable in the Socialist movement—the irrepressible rise of the Democracy of Labor.

STICK UP THE STICKERS MAKE THE FACT STICK

That Socialism is Here to Stick
STICKERS NOW READY

They are two inches square, and a capital thing for Propaganda because they can be used in a hundred ways.

Sent only in packages of 500 or more. Price of 500, by mail, 50 cents.

Address, CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.



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You will encourage the sale
OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

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Membership Cards (per 100) 1.00
Membership Applications (100)25
Constitutions (each)03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

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At last we have the BUTTONS, and at the right prices, UNION MADE. Both candidates on the button.

PRICES:

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National Campaign Committee, S. D. P.
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MACHINE vs. HAND LABOR
Compiled from government reports by Isador Ladoff.

SHORTER PIECES
Labor Conflicts in 1899. Groolood. Grant Allen. Chronology for 1899. Directory of Social Democrats. Socialist Controversies of 1899. The "Golden Rule Mayor." Prof. Herron's Campaign Social Democratic Platform, etc.

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Covering the Socialist movement down to the present year. A valuable reference.

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